

Message Text

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 L-03 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8704

INFO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 2197

NAIROBI ALSO PASS ASST SECTY DAVIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CASC, PINS (SMUTS, BARBARA)(SMITH, KENNETH STEPHEN)

(HUNTER, CARRIE JANE)

SUBJ: KIDNAPPED AMERICANS: NOTES ON NEGOTIATIONS

REF: DAR ES SALAAM 2189

1. FOLLOWING IS SLIGHTLY EDITED TEXT OF NOTES TAKEN BY PROFESSOR DAVID HAMBURG AT FIRST NEGOTIATING SESSION WITH PRP (REFTEL). PRP REPRESENTATIVES SPOKE ONLY FRENCH AND SWAHILI, AND WHILE DUTCH AMBASSADOR PERIODICALLY SPOKE IN FRENCH, AND BRYCESON FREQUENTLY SPOKE SWAHILI, TRANSLATION WAS GENERALLY NECESSARY, AND HAMBURG'S NOTES ON PRP STATEMENTS ARE BASED ON ORAL EMBOFF TRANSLATION:

2. BEGIN NOTES: THOSE PRESENT WERE THE FOLLOWING: AMBASSADOR CARTER PRESIDENG, NETHERLANDS AMBASSADOR JAN VAN DEN BERG, MR. DEREK BRYCESON, DIRECTOR OF NATIONAL PARKS OF TANZANIA, PROFESSOR DAVID HAMBURG, STANFORD UNIVERSITY, DCM AND EMBOFF HUGH MACDOUGALL; THE PRP WAS REPRESENTED BY GENERAL ALFRED NONDO AND LT. PORTE-
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FEUILLE KATCHOKA. MEETING BEGIN WITH BRIEF INTRODUCTION BY

EACH NON-PRP PARTICIPANT, EXPLAINING HIS STATUS AND ROLE. RE-CURRENT THEMES IN THESE OPENING STATEMENTS INCLUDED: (1) CONCERN FOR THE SAFETY OF STUDENTS; (2) APPRECIATION FOR THEIR GOOD TREATMENT; (3) APPRECIATION TO PRP REPRESENTATIVES FOR COMING TO NEGOTIATE; (4) RECAPITULATION OF OUR EFFORTS TO MAKE CONTACT WITH THEM; (5) CONFIDENCE THAT USEFUL TALKS COULD TAKE PLACE; (6) WORLDWIDE RECOGNITION ALREADY ATTAINED BY PRP, CONTINGENT UPON SAFE RELEASE OF STUDENTS.

3. AFTER THESE OPENING STATEMENTS, THE PRP REPRESENTATIVES WERE ASKED TO RESPOND. ALFRED NONDO IDENTIFIED HIMSELF AS A BRIGADIER GENERAL, AND MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRP. HE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY AN AIDE, LT. KATCHOKA. NONDO EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR OUR INTERESTS AND EXPLAINED THE POSITION OF HIS PARTY WITH MUCH INTENSITY. THEY HAVE BEEN FIGHTING MOBUTU FOR SEVEN YEARS. THEY ARE NOT BANDITS. THEY TOOK THE STUDENTS FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THEY ARE EAGER TO COMMUNICATE WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE THROUGH BRYCESON. THEY CONTROL AN EXTENSIVE REGION. THEY HAVE ESTABLISHED CIVIL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS. THEY ARE STRONG, DETERMINED, AND HAVE INTELLIGENT LEADERSHIP. HE EXPRESSED PRP'S RESENTMENT THAT NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES KNOW OF THE PRP BUT GAVE IT NO PUBLICITY BECAUSE THEY ARE IN THE PAY OF MOBUTU. PRP MEMBERS ARE NOT CRAZY AND HAVE REASONS FOR THEIR ACTIONS. THE TANGOV HAS ARRESTED THEIR PEOPLE. THEY WERE NOT REFUGEES. ONE OF THOSE ARRESTED WAS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT. MR. YUMBU WAS THE SECY. GENERAL OF THE PARTY. SOME OTHERS OF FAIRLY HIGH LEVEL WERE ARRESTED WHEN THEY WERE ON ORDINARY COMMERCIAL MISSIONS. THEY HAD NOT ASKED AFRICA FOR A BULLET OR EVEN A NEEDLE. THEY WERE ARRESTED BECAUSE THE TANGOV IS AGAINST THE PRP. HOW COULD TANGOV CLAIM SOCIALISM WHEN ARRESTING PRP? HE DENIES THEIR PRISONERS WERE EVER FREED BY TANGOV. PRP FOLLOWS EVERYTHING IN TANZANIA CLOSELY. HE REITERATED ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS INTENSITY AND RESENTMENT NOT ONLY OVER THE ARRESTS BUT OVER FALSE REPORTS OF THEIR RELEASE.

4. DUTCH AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT AMNESTY OF 26 APRIL INVOLVED SEVEN OR EIGHT HUNDRED PEOPLE INCLUDING SOME PRP. IT MIGHT TAKE TIME TO FIND OUT ABOUT RELEASE. NONDO RESPONDED THAT TWELVE PRP WERE IN PRISON HERE. WHEN ASKED ABOUT REPORTS OF YUMBU'S DEATH HE REPLIED THAT TANGOV WAS DECEITFUL. YUMBU WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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ARRESTED IN DAR ES SALAAM AND TANGOV SHOULD KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO HIM. ANY PARTY MEMBER RELEASED MUST COME STRAIGHT BACK AND REPORT TO PRP IMMEDIATELY.

5. IN CONNECTION WITH CONCERNS ABOUT THEIR SECURITY IN DAR ES SALAAM, AMBASSADOR CARTER OFFERED THE HOSPITALITY OF THE US EMBASSY. NONDO INDICATED THAT HE WAS AT OUR DISPOSITION AND HOPED FOR A GOOD OUTCOME.

6. HE QUICKLY RETURNED TO COMPLAINTS ABOUT TANGOV AND PRISONERS. AMBASSADOR CARTER INDICATED LIMITS OF US AND DUTCH CAPACITY TO INFLUENCE TANGOV BUT WAS HOEPFUL OF MAKING REQUEST TO TANGOV FOR PRISONER RELEASE. THIS MEETING OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO CLARIFY MIS-UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN PRP AND TANGOV. NONDO ASKS EXTENT TO WHICH WE CAN IMPLEMENT THEIR DEMANDS, "THEN WE'LL GO BACK AND REPORT TO PARTY." HE STATED PRP'S PRIORITIES AS FOLLOWS: 1) RE-LEASE OF PRISONERS; 2) MONEY; 3) ARMS. HE NOTED THAT THE REQUEST FOR ARMS HAD BEEN REDUCED IN AMOUNT. TIME IS RUNNING SHORT. THEY ONLY WANT TO FIGHT THEIR OWN FIGHT. THE US AND DUTCH SHOULD EXERT INFLUENCE ON NYERERE.

7. BRYCESON SPOKE TO THE PRISONER DEMAND QUESTION, ASKING FOR A LIST OF NAMES. HE INDICATED THAT SOME PEOPLE WERE ARRESTED FOR TRYING TO BUY ARMS AND AMMUNITION FOR BANDITRY. THESE MUST BE DISTINGUISHED FROM TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES, SO WE NEED LIST FROM PRP TO TELL THE REVOLUTIONARIES FROM CRIMINALS. BRYCESON INDICATED HE WILL REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT WHEN HE RETURNS ON SUNDAY AND RE-COMMEND RELEASE OF PRISONERS. HE FELT THEY WOULD BE RELEASED IF THEY REALLY ARE PRP AND NOT BANDITS. NONDO AGREED TO PROVIDE SUCH A LIST. HE EXPRESSED FURTHER RESENTMENT TOWARD TANGOV REGARDING THE STATEMENTS MADE SHORTLY AFTER THE KIDNAPPING. THE PRP DESIRE FOR AMERICAN AND BELGIAN ARMS DOES NOT CONFLICT WITH SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY; THEY ARE JUST THE KIND OF ARMS THEY CAPTURE FROM MOBUTU. JUST RECENTLY ANOTHER PRP MAN WAS ARRESTED AND IMPRISONED BY TANGOV. AND DEMANDS ARE REASONABLE. THEY ARE NOW ASKING ONLY 25 MACHINE GUNS AND 100,000 ROUNDS AMMUNITION. IF YUMBU IS DEAD, THAT CAN'T BE HELPED, BUT THE OTHERS ARE OK AND SHOULD BE RELEASED. TANGOV SHOULD STOP RADIO ATTACKS ON PRP.

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ACTION AF-06

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SCS-03 SCA-01 L-03 SP-02 NSC-05

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 8705
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AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

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8. BREAK WAS TAKEN DURING WHICH EACH GROUP CONFERRED SEPARATELY AND REFRESHMENTS WERE PROVIDED. ON RESUMING THE MEETING AMBASSADOR CARTER MADE SEVERAL BASIC POINTS: 1) PRP HAS GAINED MUCH INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION ALREADY AND CAN GAIN MUCH MORE FAVORABLE ATTENTION BY PROMPT AND SAFE RELEASE OF STUDENTS. WE WILL PROMOTE FURTHER FAVORABLE ATTENTION WHEN THEY ARE RELEASED; 2) HE CITED BRYCESON'S EARLIER ENCOURAGING STATEMENT REGARDING LIKELIHOOD OF PRISONER RELEASE IN CONTEXT OF BRYCESON'S STATED FRIENDSHIP WITH PRESIDENT AND ALSO INDICATED US AND DUTCH READINESS TO URGE SUCH RELEASE; 3) HE POINTED OUT THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY IN RESPONDING TO THE DEMANDS FOR RANSOM IN MONEY AND ARMS. RANSOM NOT CONSISTENT WITH REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT. WOULD BLEMISH PRP INTERNATIONAL REPUTATION. LONG-TERM INTERESTS SUCH AS RELATIONSHIP WITH TANZANIA AND SYMPATHETIC ATTENTION IN REST OF WORLD MORE IMPORTANT THAN IMMEDIATE ARMS OR FUNDS. US AND DUTCH GOVERNMENTS CANNOT OFFER ARMS OR FUNDS. POLICY FORBIDS IT. IN SUMMARY WE CAN OFFER TWO MAJOR INCENTIVES FOR RELEASE OF STUDENTS: 1) WORLDWIDE RE-CONFIDENTIAL

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COGNITION; 2) EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE RELEASE OF PRP PRISONERS. BRYCESON CONCURRED, SAYING HE COULD ADD LITTLE MORE UNTIL HE SEES NYERERE THIS SUNDAY. AMBASSADOR CARTER OFFERED SAFE RETURN OF PRP REPRESENTATIVES TO FACILITATE STUDENT RELEASE. THEN PRP COULD REASONABLY EXPECT NYERERE TO RECIPROCAT. BRYCESON EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF LONG-TERM RELATIONS WITH TANZANIA. HAMBURG EMPHASIZED WORLDWIDE MEDIA COVERAGE AND FAVORABLE ATTENTION ENSUING UPON SAFE RELEASE, INCLUDING ANY MESSAGES FORMULATED BY PRP. VAN DEN BERG POINTED OUT CURRENT TROUBLES OF US AND HOLLAND WITH MOBUTU. THIS GAVE PRP OPPORTUNITY WHICH CAN BE CONSUMATED BY RELEASING STUDENTS.

9. NONDO RESPONDED OUR OFFERS AS FOLLOWS: 1) WE HAD OFFERED MAINLY PUBLICITY; 2) PRP NEEDS ARMS MORE THAN PUBLICITY; 3) PRP NEEDS GUARANTEES IN WRITING FROM NYERERE. AMBASSADOR CARTER REPLIED US AND DUTCH WILL RECOMMEND PRISONER RELEASE TO NYERERE. BRYCESON WILL CONVERY SIMILAR RECOMMENDATION. GOVERNMENTS CANNOT OFFER FUNDS. PERHAPS FAMILIES AND FRIENDS MIGHT DO SO, BUT AMOUNT

LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERABLY SMALLER THAN REQUESTED BY PRP. NONDO REPLIED: MONEY ESSENTIAL, CAN BUY ARMS WITH MONEY. NOW INDICATED HE IS AUTHORIZED BY PARTY TO DROP THE ARMS DEMAND BUT MUST HAVE FUNDS IN FULL AMOUNT AND CONTINUE PRESSURE FOR PRISONER RELEASE. HE RECOGNIZED EFFORTS GET PRISONERS RELEASED MIGHT FAIL; THIS WOULD NOT RPT NOT PREVENT RELEASE STUDENTS IF FUNDS PROVIDED IN FULL AMOUNT. HAMBURG INDICATED THAT FAMILY AND FRIENDS AS PRIVATE CITIZENS WERE TRYING HARD TO RAISE FUNDS BUT ENCOUNTERING DIFFICULTY. UNCLEAR HOW MUCH COLD BE REALISED. NONDO EMPHASIZED PRP IS A DISCIPLINED PARTY AND HAS GIVEN HIM STRICT INSTRUCTIONS. HE CANNOT DEVIATE FROM STATED AMOUNT BUT CAN ASSURE RELEASE OF STUDENTS IF THAT AMOUNT IS PROVIDED.

10. ANOTHER BREAK WAS TAKEN DURING WHICH TIME THE TWO AVAILABLE PARENTS, MR. HUNTER AND MR. SMITH, WERE CONSULTED. THEY STRONGLY RECOMMEND PAYMENT, AT A LOWER AMOUNT IF POSSIBLE BUT AT THE FULL AMOUNT IF NECESSARY. THEY URGED THAT THE AGREEMENT BE COMPLETED WHILE THE PRP REPS ARE IN DAR ES SALAAM. ALL OF US AGREE THAT IN VIEW OF THE DIFFICULTIES WITH MOBUTU AND THE ALARMING LETTTER REGARDING MILITARY THREATS TO PRP, RAPID PROGRESS MUST BE MADE.

11. WE THEN REJOINED PRP REPS AND INDICATED WE WOULD EXPLORE OVERNIGHT HOW MUCH MONEY COULD BE RAISED AND WOULD NOTIFY THEM
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IN THE MORNING. IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT ANY SUCH TRANSACTION WOULD HAVE TO BE HANDLED IN COMPLETE CONFIDENTIALITY, WITH NO PUBLICITY REGARDING FUNDS. NONDO AGREED TO THIS CONDITION TO PROTECT THE PRP IMAGE, AS AMBASSADOR CARTER HAD INDICATED. HOWEVER, HE CATHATICALLY REJECTED CARTER'S OTHER RATIONALE, THAT IS, THE PROTECTION OF OTHERS FROM KIDNAPPING. CARTER RESPONDED THAT THIS MATTER WAS, NEVERTHELESS, OF EXTREME IMPORTANCE TO US. OTHER US AND DUTCH PARTICIPANTS CONCURRED.

12. AN EXPLORATORY DISCUSSION FOLLOWED OF WAYS IN WHICH POSSIBLE TRANSFER OF FUNDS AND STUDENTS MIGHT BE ACCOMPLISHED. NONDO SAID HE COULD ACCEPT ONLY BRITISH POUNDS OR US DOLLARS, IN CASH. NONDO PROPOSED DELIVERY OF FUNDS DIRECTLY TO PRP CAMP, RELYING UPON DEMONSTRATED PRP GOODWILL. US AND DUTCH PARTICIPANTS CRISPLY REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL. AMBASSADOR CARTER SUGGESTED ONE ALTERNATIVE POSSIBILITY IN WHICH LT. KATCHOKA AND 10 PER CENT OF THE FUNDS MIGHT BE SET ASHORE FROM A BOAT. THEN THE STUDENTS WOULD BE BROUGHT OUT, AND THE EXCHANGE MADE AT THE BOAT, AT WHICH POINT THE OTHER 90 PER CENT AND GEN. NONDO WOULD PROCEED TO THE PRP CAMP. PRP REPS SEEMED INTERESTED IN THIS PROPOSAL. THEY ASKED REASSURANCE REGARDING PROTECTION FROM ARREST IN KIGOMA AND IMPLIED THAT EXCHANGE COULD TAKE PLACE IN KIGOMA IF SECURITY GUARANTEED. THIS ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN. THEY ASKED FOR REASSURANCE THAT US AND DUTCH REPS WOULD MAKE SERIOUS EFFORT TO PERSUADE TANGOV REGARDING RELEASE OF PRP PRISONERS. THIS ASSURANCE WAS GIVEN. NONDO PREPARED

AND TURNED OVER LIST OF 12 PRISONERS WHOSE RELEASE IS NOW SOUGHT.
AMBASSADOR CARTER CLOSED MEETING WITH STATEMENT THAT WE WOULD
RESUME IN MORNING WITH SPECIFIC INFO REGARDING FUNDS THAT CAN BE
RAISED AND SPECIFIC INFO REGARDING FUNDS THAT CAN BE RAISED AND
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS REGARDING MEANS OF EXCHANGE. END NOTES.
CARTER

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